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STALINISM AND THE CONFESSION

DICK HOWARD **ON THE BOOK**
COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR. **ON THE FILM**

CHEVRON'S POLLUTION SOLUTION

SUSAN BERMAN

NIXON'S SECRET PLAN: THE BUDGET

RICHARD DuBOFF

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NEWS & VIEWS

Profit Over Protection

Cyclamates might produce cancer in laboratory animals, but business is business. So if the Food and Drug Administration bans food products containing cyclamates from the U.S., as it did 16 months ago, there's still the foreign market.

That's not only where cyclamates are going, but a number of items deemed harmful for Americans, according to a *Wall Street Journal* report. The traffic includes food, drugs, textiles and cigarettes.

The specifics:

—Libby, McNeil & Libby has peddled 300,000 cases of cyclamate-sweetened canned fruit in West Germany, Spain and other countries in Europe, the Far East and the Caribbean;

—Parke, Davis and Co. is selling the antibiotic Chloromycetin and Merck & Co. the antirheumatic drug Indocin with far less strict warnings about possible side effects and with recommendations for a much wider range of use than what either is permitted in the U.S.;

—Zado of California, Inc., an importer of women's wear, unloaded in Canada 3,000 silk scarves from Japan which were barred from sale here by the Flammable Fabrics Act. Kirchen Bros. of Chicago did likewise with some artificial flowers made from Japanese wood fiber.

—Finally, cigarettes. American brands are selling abroad devoid of the health warning on the pack required in the U.S. (Exception: those sold on U.S. military bases.) Moreover, foreign tests show a consistently higher tar and nicotine content for each of nine American brands sold abroad, ostensibly to give them the stronger taste Europeans prefer. (So it increases their risk of cancer and lung disease . . .)

The industries involved appear to have no strong conscience over their policies. A *Journal* quote from Libby's vice president for international business, James Nadler, may not be typical, but it is reflective of a general let-the-buyer-beware attitude: "Fortunately, the older civilizations of the world are more deliberate about judging momentary fads that are popular in the U.S. from time to time."

Is Nadler suggesting it is a "momentary fad" not to get cancer from cyclamate or a blood disease from Chloromycetin?

Is he suggesting, too, that there is nothing crass or unethical about selling abroad what cannot be sold, for solid reason, in the U.S.?

This is an idea which New York Congressman Benjamin Rosenthal would like to rout right now. He plans a bill for this session which would extend to international trade the consumer protection that "we still attempt, however inadequately, to provide for our own public."

At the same time, the Senate Commerce Committee is scheduling hearings for spring on recommendations of the National Product Safety Commission, incorporating the suggestion that the U.S. "prohibit the export of hazardous products to other countries."

The loopholes, it seems, will eventually be closed, but they can't be closed too soon.

NCR and the Future

A *National Observer* article gives a clue to *National Catholic Reporter's* plans, if *NCR* slips below its minimum operating circulation of 60,000, a mark it is said to be "perilously" near.

NCR could become something else, publisher Donald Thorman is quoted; it could become "a biweekly, a monthly journal of opinion in tabloid form, a Catholic equivalent of the *New York Review of Books.*"

The prime objective, however, is to save NCR in its present form—through fund-raising; through an endowment fund, perhaps, which would support the paper during periods of ebbing interest; through new reportorial approaches.

NCR board president Frank Brennan accents the latter, saying *NCR* may have to turn to the positive and practical in religion to insure the numbers it needs to survive.

It's a turn that is apparently agreeable with editor Bob Hoyt. "I don't think we've presented a sufficient variety of viewpoints to make clear that we tolerate other views," Hoyt *mea culpa*-ed to the *National Observer*. "And I think we've been guilty of slamming people too hard, of undue sarcasm."

So *NCR* will ease up, but hang in at the same time.

What is important is "that the liberals *en masse* don't quit," Hoyt said. "Dammit, somebody's got to stay in there and work at it."

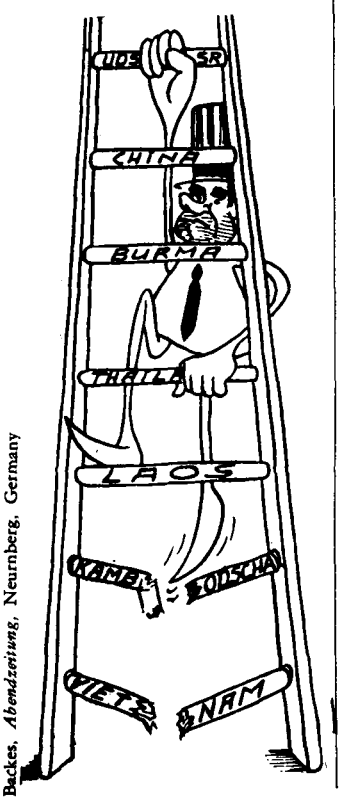
'Minnesota Twins'

Include Nathan Lewin, assistant to the Solicitor General, Department of Justice (1963-67), and Deputy Assistant Attorney General in the Civil Rights Division (1968-69), among those who feel that Mr. Nixon has already succeeded in turning the Supreme Court around.

"Under the impetus of Chief Justice Warren E. Burger and the Court's most recent appointee, Associate Justice Harry A. Blackmun, whom some now call the 'Minnesota Twins,' the Court has taken a decided turn to the right," Lewin wrote in the *Times* Feb. 14.

The scary thing in Lewin's analysis is that we've only begun to glimpse what the future holds. Says Lewin:

"The new Chief Justice has not been shy about expressing his dissatisfaction with the legal precedents established by the Warren Court, and Justice Blackmun has joined in hinting that, given a little more judge-power, the two might be prepared to overturn such decisions wholesale."



Backes, *Abendzeitung*, Neurnberg, Germany

Orwell Lives

The following from a Pentagon press corps meeting with Jerry W. Friedheim, Deputy Asssistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, Subject, Laos.

Friedheim: ". . . I would like to point out that General Abrams feels that he made it very clear that the fact that he had an embargo was embargoed and the announcement that he was withholding some information was embargoed and he felt that there was good safety reason to do that. And most of you, I think, know that he responded with an advisory to the media . . . that he had embargoed some things and embargoed the fact that he had announced that embargo situation to the media . . ."

Q: "Well, what you just said, is that embargoed?

(Laughter)

Friedheim: "Yes it is."

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Our Poor Bishops

Springfield, Mass

To the Editors: A number of articles, reporting the clergy gap found as a result of a study made by John P. Koval of Notre Dame and his associates ["News & Views," Jan. 29], come as no surprise to lay people. It has been too, too obvious to us to even need a study. In addition, the "lack of leadership from those in authority" is a basic cause for lay disenchantment.

Not to be flip, but who was insulted by the Pope's directive to the bishops? Theologians or bishops? When the Pope says "it is not to the learned, etc." is there a suggestion that bishops might be intellectually limited? The inference seems to be there. And whatever has happened to the spiritual gifts given by God (I Corinthians 12: 4-11)?

The theologians, at least, have the consolation of knowing they are using their God-given talents. What consolation do our poor bishops have? For most of us (lay) we do not understand how a bishop can "authentically" make any interpretation without intelligence. In addition, most bishops, in the U.S. at least, have been compelled by circumstances to be business men. This is a time-consuming vocation—with little time left for the "duty of authentically interpreting the faith of the church." This is a large part of the problem. The actions of many bishops speak louder than their words. "Love God—and love your neighbor as yourself" is basic to the Christian faith. Who purposely hurts himself by neglect, or indifference? His "neighbor"? That is a different question. "Who is my neighbor?" The answer given by Christ is refuted by the actions of many of His bishops. So when the Roman Catholic bishops in the U.S. leave "business" to the lay people, perhaps they will be in a better position to "authentically" interpret the Faith. Until then? Who knows? Or is there any time? The straw to me is the promise to be with us until the end of time.

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BALANCING THE BOOKS

Are things getting better in America or are they getting worse? To the sophisticated mind that may seem like a baby question. It is, however, the question behind much of the discontent, the mistrust, the sense of confusion felt by Americans today. That things are assumed to be getting better until proved conclusively to be getting worse is just as much a part of the American creed, perhaps more so, than the notion that a man is assumed innocent until proven guilty. Yet social critics, journals (like this one), and even politicians keep insisting on all the things that are wrong. They, in turn, are countered by other social critics, journals and politicians who can cite indices of advance, sometimes dubious but frequently impressive. The whole exercise is frustrating, and frustrating in a possibly dangerous way. One way out of the difficulty is to accuse intellectuals and politicians of projecting their own dissatisfactions onto society at large and thus, for their own purposes, creating a false climate of crisis. That intellectuals and politicians tend to be more than normally dissatisfied is quite arguable, but it does not explain why this supposed idiosyncrasy should find such a response in the public. The fact is, the public, too, feels uneasily, and in its bones, that good, better, or worse, things are not exactly going the way they should.

Part of the problem resides precisely in that national myth of progress. Another part resides in the fact that some things simply are not getting better. TRB in The New Republic notes that Herman P. Miller's new edition of *Rich Man, Poor Man* finds that "between 1965 and 1968 the real weekly wages of a worker with three dependents, after social security and income taxes . . . went up by exactly eight cents. Inflation took the rest." That's a gain of $4.16 cents a year, in a period of full employment!

Yet another part of the problem resides in the fact that we don't really have measurements which serve our purposes. The man who knows he is making twice as much today as he did several decades ago also knows he is not living twice as well. The Gross National Product soars, and people see the cities and the countryside deteriorate. The president of the Bank of America recently reminded fellow businessmen that "If GNP goes up, the widespread and popular assumption is that we are better off than if it were at some lower level. But in fact the GNP statistics can and do produce misleading information—or no information at all—about many of the things which make life worth living. They have distorted some economic events to the point where an episode of social deterioration shows up as a

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gain rather than a loss." He pointed out that the earthquake disaster in Southern California, because of expenditures to repair and rebuild, would be registered as a rise in the GNP.

The Catch-22 here is that there is no debit column in the GNP ledger. The industrial polluter not only *increases* the GNP by the pollution-causing output; he increases it further by stimulating anti-pollution expenditures which clean up (fully or partially) the mess he has made. Any unrepaired damage to the environment goes unrecorded. Similar catches exist in regard to many of society's other measuring devices, including that one so central to the entire system, *profit.*

Mr. A. W. Clausen of the Bank of America recommended the development of an "arithmetic of quality" and a "social report," like the 1968 government-commissioned document, *Toward a Social Report,* intended as a model for measuring the state of national life in the areas of health and illness; social mobility; physical environment; income and poverty; public order and safety; learning, science and art; participation and alienation.

To measure a problem is not to solve it; it is only a first step. But the notion of a "social report" and especially the reexamination of concepts such as "growth" and "profit" are more than useful proposals to clarify the situation of a confused America, though they might do that. Whether their proponents realize it or not, they unavoidably put on the agenda fundamental questions about the quality of life in the U.S., and the system we employ to attain it.

COLOR LINE

As Herbert Hill of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People pointed out in these pages three years ago, the construction unions have year after year dragged their feet when it comes to admitting blacks into their ranks. Agreement after agreement has been reached on paper to end discrimination in apprenticeship programs, yet too little has in fact been done. Still the unions have continued to insist that governmental intervention is unwarranted and that voluntary cooperation by the construction unions will reform lily-white or near-lily-white organizations. This year the Labor Department tired of hearing the same old song over and over again, and proposed new rules requiring unions with federally registered apprenticeship programs to "adopt affirmative action plans" to bring more blacks and other minority group members into the programs. Essentially what the change in rules would require is that a minimum proportion of all apprentices be drawn from non-white minority groups, with the object, of course, of bringing more of such minority representatives into construction jobs. It is typical of the problem that the rebuilding done after the tragic Watts riots was done by lily-white unions, thereby dramatizing part of the reason the riots took place in the first place. Some progress has been made by voluntary methods, as the Labor Department granted, but not at a fast enough rate: "There continues to be underutilization of minorities in apprenticeship."

To this proposal by the Labor Department the building trades unions have reacted with all the indignation of an unreconstructed entrepreneur in New Deal days. Claiming that the new rules were unnecessary and would "substitute quotas for quality," a statement issued by the Building and Construction Trades Department of the AFL-CIO said: "This attempt at social engineering is a poorly disguised effort to restructure our economic society to the whims of a handful of federal mandarins."

For our part, we are not without sympathy for the rank-and-file members of the building trades unions, especially in areas where unemployment is high, but that is not the issue and there is no excuse for continuing refusal to give minority group members a fair chance at work they need equally as much. In any realistic apprenticeship program a sizable quota of non-whites is needed to make up for years of exclusion, and experience has shown the folly of relying on voluntary efforts by the construction unions. In short, our vote in this matter goes to the men in the Labor Department whom the building trades unions choose to call federal mandarins.

Winter Soldiering In Detroit

On January 30, David Crosby and Graham Nash came to Detroit, emerging from unwilling retirement for the Winter Soldier Investigation (WSI), the touring symposium of Vietnam veterans which is seeking a probe into war crimes "committed as the inexorable result of national policy." The only comment any of the 7,500

NEXT WEEK

MARY DALY writes of women's liberation and the death of God the Father:

"The underlying—and often explicit—assumption in the minds of theologians down through the centuries has been that the divinity could not have deigned to become incarnate in the 'inferior' sex, and the 'fact' that 'he' did not do so reinforces the belief in masculine superiority. The transformation of society by the erosion of male dominance will generate serious challenges to such assumptions of the Christological tradition."

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people attending the Crosby and Nash concert heard about the Investigation was, however, peripheral. David remarked something about the folly of protesting the war by gathering in large groups to scream and holler. He hollered in imitation of the actions he judged had been getting nowhere. Then he started to sing.

This benefit concert took place at the University of Detroit. The next day, in Detroit's midtown, a motel—Howard Johnson's, improbably enough—was the site of the main business of WSI. The concert had raised money for the para-judicial process in which Vietnam war veterans testified to the atrocities which they had seen in Southeast Asia.

The Detroit papers give the WSI an unusual amount of space, reported varying numbers in attendance at the hearings—from 600 the first day, Sunday, January 31, to about 75 two days later. But what David Crosby implied was true. There was no hollering to speak of. That particular technique was limited to a small, picketing assembly outside the motel. "Breakthrough," a local right-wing group that protests just about everything, offered the opinion to local newcasters that the WSI was Communist-inspired.

But, as my own son, Tom, reported from his day at the sessions, the witnesses were talking to themselves. The gallery, if that's the right word, was made up alone of those who sympathized with the whole cause. And obviously not all of those who sympathize came. The intention behind WSI was to make known to the public the extent to which inhumane and horrible action, murder and torture, occurs in this hated war. Some of the sympathizing gallery became ill hearing about it. A student told me he thought that the ex-G.I.'s. prefacing their testimony with a toss of their medals aside in scorn, would have turned off any honest inquirer who might have shown up.

But there weren't any. The WSI in Detroit, even with more PR from the newspapers than WSI could have purchased, became an anomaly. Some of the editorial opinion was commendably tolerant. Surprising, too, was the editorial-a-day pattern in both papers. The anomaly arose from the fact that any concern aroused already about the My Lais was dulled by the discouraging, tactless style of WSI. The effect was as if the whole show succeeded more in losing disciples for the cause than in winning them.

To some degree, campus activism, waning as it has, was the wrong target for the Investigation to take as its audience. Winter Soldier hoped, by its appealing analogue to Thomas Paine's "sunshine patriot, summer soldier," to move the uncommitted and to convert some of America's pro-war faction. But, with all due respect to Jane Fonda's winning ways, her "celebrity" leadership of WSI and the producer's skills of Mark Lane both backfired. The citizens who might legitimately have been struck by the truth told in WSI never came to sift it out. What they heard, they heard on the 11 o'clock news; what they saw, they saw in back-page reproduction of the photo-journalists' testimony to the horrors war, our war, has brought to a small part of the world.

The night before Crosby and Nash, though, 7500 other people had applauded Laura Nyro back for three encores until they could clap the rhythm of "Save the Country," when she finally sang it. Laura Nyro and Crosby and Nash did what Jane Fonda and WSI could not: bring them out. Escapist philosophy? Or the weariness with shouting to which Crosby referred? Perhaps WSI was affected by a silent boycott against preaching peace by portraying horror. In Detroit, anyway, they gave an Investigation, and nobody came. .

JOHN MAHONEY

(John Mahoney is dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Detroit.)

Mother of a POW

My name is Virginia R. Warner. I was born in Indianapolis, Indiana. I am employed as a medical secretary.

When the National League of Families of Prisoners of War was set-up, I was asked to serve as a coordinator and I agreed to do so. I was anxious to meet other families who had boys in the Hanoi prisons. It is important to understand what our situation was and how we felt—in order to understand why we agreed to do such foolish things as endorsing a letter-writing campaign to Hanoi or putting up billboards calling upon Hanoi to free the prisoners. . . . I personally arranged for a billboard to be put up in Ann Arbor. Now, when I see how we have been used to help gain support for the war, I wish I had never put up that billboard or urged anyone to write Hanoi.

I would like to put up a new billboard now—one which reads, "President Nixon End The War So The Prisoners of War Can Come Home." . . . I am not proud of the fact that my son helped to bomb Vietnam and I don't think he is proud of it.

I don't want the resumption of the bombing because I don't want any more Vietnamese people killed and because I don't want my son or any other prisoner of war killed by American bombs.

We don't want any more raids like the one on Son Tay either. Those "Rescue Missions" probably would end up with many of the prisoners being killed if they were caught in the middle of the fight. . . . If the American government agreed to end the war, I know that Jim would come back to us safely. I wish the letter writing campaign were reversed. I just wish everyone who wrote Hanoi would write to Washington now . . .

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WHAT SHOULD LINDSAY DO?

PETER STEINFELS

HAVING READ in *The Real Majority* that the key to elections these days is the 47-year-old housewife whose husband is a machinist in Dayton, Ohio, I telephoned the good lady last week. "Could you tell me," I asked, "what would be the perfect Democratic ticket in 1972?"

"Sure," she said, "Mayor Lindsay and Mayor Daley."

I wonder if she heard me bite a small piece out the phone receiver, because she began to explain:

"Mayor Lindsay would go for the suburban vote, Daley for the cities. Mayor Lindsay would appeal to blacks, Wasps, women, campuses, ideological liberals, the media and Hubert Humphrey. Mayor Daley would appeal to ethnics, middle-Americans, men, unions, ideological moderates and conservatives, policemen and Hubert Humphrey. Mayor Lindsay would win the limousine liberals and the radical-chic, Mayor Daley the kickback commoners and the plebian-plush.

"Excuse me," she said, "I've got Larry O'Brien on another line . . . You still there? Okay, now Lindsay can run on a slogan like 'The Old Gray Mayor, He Ain't What He Used to Be' and Daley should stick to something simple like 'Mayor for Your Money.' After they won the election, Lindsay would devote himself to foreign policy, television press conferences, delivering fine speeches and lighting the White House Christmas Tree. Mayor Daley would make the trains run on time."

I hate to disagree with a woman who has become such a power in U.S. politics. As a matter of fact, I belong to what must be a rather small group of Americans who have managed to vote for both Mayor Daley and Mayor Lindsay. (And given a certain advanced political philosophy which does not insist that mere change of residence, or even death, should bar one from voting in Chicago, I may still be casting a ballot for Mayor Daley.)

But of course only one-half of that perfect ticket is threatening to run.

If John V. Lindsay wants to qualify for the June 1972 California presidential primary, he must decide by March 6 whether or not to become a Democrat. Meanwhile, the men surrounding him are busy launching trial balloons, scouting money, gathering favorable editorial comment.

Lindsay should decide soon. He should decide to become a Democrat. He should also decide not to run for the Presidency.

Lindsay as a Democrat makes sense. With that mastodon of liberal Republicanism, Nelson Rockefeller, lumbering steadily toward Spiro Agnew and James Buckley, whatever Lindsay wants to do in politics is going to be done with and by Democrats.

Lindsay as a presidential candidate, however, would be only one more example of that born-to-rule arrogance which, from the start, has plagued him and those around him. Couldn't make it in my own political party, fellows, mind if I borrow yours? Just long enough to become President of the United States.

It's not hard to understand why Lindsay's entourage should feel enthusiastic about their man running for President. Sure, it's more fun being Secretary of State than Deputy Mayor —especially when one's next term as Deputy Mayor doesn't seem a very likely thing. But as a reporter friend of mine, with a keen eye for politics in the Midwest, put it bluntly, "There's no real support for Lindsay out here. Why should he mess up the Democratic party just to save his ass?"

Mayor Lindsay is . . . well, he is okay. He is decent. He has learned a lot since he and his Yale friends thought they would bring Good Government to New York in a day. Perhaps the Presidency would be a snap after being Mayor of New York, where one has all the same problems without the corresponding powers. But Lindsay's performance as Mayor, even within those limits, has been mixed. No, it isn't true, as some New Yorkers believe, that he has personally committed every mugging. But he has stumbled needlessly in some of the city's most crucial areas like labor relations and housing.

It might be different if the Democrats lacked attractive candidates rather than having a surfeit of them, some with sympathies, records, programs, and character to match Lindsay's. And without his liabilities. If Lindsay runs for President, he will have to run from the same base of Eastern money and connections which has raised the hackles of unions and ethnics in New York.

Does Lindsay care about more than Lindsay? I think he does. That is why he should declare himself a Democrat. He should also make it clear he is not running for President in the only way I know of: by admitting that it would be a supreme act of arrogance to walk into another party and ask for its nomination. He should then devote his personality, his pull with the media and campuses, his access to money, to the party's '72 effort. He would have an excellent political future—as a Democrat but not as President.

Another victim of that four-day mid-February holiday, and the consequent disruption of deadlines, was the concluding sentence of my last column. It should have read: "They will be New Yorkers."

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NIXON'S SECRET PLAN: THE BUDGET

"Far from being a dry accounting of bookkeepers, a nation's budget is full of moral implications; it tells what a society cares about and what it does not care about; it tells what its values are."

Senator J. W. Fulbright
August 8, 1967

RICHARD DU BOFF

Richard Nixon's budget for fiscal year 1972 (beginning this July 1) was delivered to press and public on January 29. Among the "highlights" presented in merciful summary of the huge document (it weighs over six pounds) was this one: "Even with this increase [of $1.5 billion], defense spending will drop from 36 percent of total spending in 1971 to 34 percent in 1972. Outlays for human resource programs, continuing to rise as a share of the total, will be 42 percent of total spending in 1972."

The statement is grossly misleading. In fact, so far as federal money appropriations—real political choices—are concerned, military and war spending accounts for more than 60 percent, human resource expenditures 31 percent—a ratio of two-to-one, and this by conservative estimate. Nixon's aim is transparent: to understate Pentagon profligacy and puff up all items remotely connected with human well-being, the cities, the environment, and any other area supposed to be benefiting from "redirection of our national priorities."

To understand how the President is accomplishing this, you'll need a dash of recent history, a short review to illustrate how the present federal budget is, like so many other things, a product of "bi-partisan" policy—cooperative trickery in this instance.

Until fiscal 1969 the government's budget was presented in *administrative* form. The old administrative budget, which has apparently been phased out altogether, was a financial record of only federally-owned funds. Such funds may be distinguished from trust and deposit funds held by the government for some specified and continuing purpose (or for some person). *Receipts* in administrative budget terms, then, would be total federal revenues less transfers to trust funds, certain intragovernmental transactions (interfunds), and refunds. Administrative *expenditures* would be those payable from Congressional appropriations and borrowing.

Back in 1967 the Johnson Administration, dissatisfied with this budgetary concept for several reasons—some valid from an economist's viewpoint, as I'll concede shortly—recommended adoption of a "unified budget," which was put into effect starting two years ago. The unified budget is the old administrative budget *plus* trust funds; it's a kind of consolidated cash account. It includes revenues and outlays from social security and retirement trust funds and highway trust funds. True, it does give a more complete picture of federal activities than the administrative budget, particularly because it reflects the impact of aggregate government spending on

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the level of economic activity. But it gives a badly distorted picture of the budget-making process and the political priorities this process so faithfully reflects. To arrive at an understanding of basic political choices, an interested observer would spend much more time examining year-by-year appropriations and discretionary expenditures than the comparatively viscous financial flows of trust funds whose net intake or outflow depends on past accumulations and present demands largely unrelated to current Congressional (and pressure group) politics.

Whatever the original rationale behind the "unified budget," it has been a godsend for Pentagon propagandists. What they have done is to include trust fund flows—moneys for which the government is a caretaker—in the unified budget and then to lump all trust fund payments in with "human resource" spending. Through this kind of accounting, human resource outlays are vastly overstated, military spending understated. The budget "highlight" quoted above is a perfect example of this propaganda in action.

Reconstituting the old administrative budget for fiscal 1972 conveys an impression quite different from Nixon's "highlight." The unified 1972 budget cites total receipts as $217.6 billion and outlays as $229.2 billion. If we deduct from both of these figures trust fund flows (income and outgo), administrative receipts become $160.0 billion, administrative outlays $168.5. On the basis of these revised receipt and outlay figures, let us do some recalculating of percentages:

1. Total defense spending is carried at $77.5 billion. Alone, this represents 48.4 percent of administrative receipts, 46.0 percent of administrative outlays—already well above the 34 percent figure used by Nixon.

2. "International affairs and finance" and "space research and technology" are allocated $4.0 and $3.2 billion respectively. Let us assume, understating the true amounts in all likelihood, that half of this $7.2 billion is closely related to the military (foreign aid and military assistance, probably intelligence too, are the major items). Adding $3.6 billion to the $77.5 billion for defense, we now account for 50.7 percent of administrative receipts, 48.1 percent of outlays.

3. "I can remember," I. F. Stone wrote two years ago, "when a feature of the annual federal budget presentation was a chart showing how much was absorbed by past, present and future wars. This added military expenditures, veterans' benefits and interest charges, the last item because past wars are the real reason for the public debt. These three items in the 1970 budget total more than $106 billion and will take more than 70 percent of the general revenues." Let us repeat this operation, but more conservatively than Stone, by assuming that two-thirds of both the $10.6 billion for "veterans' benefits and services" and $19.7 billion "debt interest" are attributable to past and present wars. Added to the $77.5 billion defense budget, this new total constitutes 63.3 percent of administrative receipts, 60.1 percent of outlays.

4. Finally, let us combine steps 2 and 3. Here we shall add up the $77.5 billion for defense, half of international affairs and finance, and two-thirds of veterans benefits and debt service. This grand total of current and past military spending represents 65.5 percent of administrative income, 62.2 percent of expenditures.

In all probability, these military totals are still understated. My four-step calculations exclude some of the defense-related activities of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Selective Service System (the latter has been included in nondefense "human resource" expenditures, believe it or not), as well as hidden military enterprises that we discover bit-by-bit, like the $100 million per year of military aid disguised as "food for peace." It will be no surprise, moreover, if the $77.5 billion defense total itself creeps up over the next 18 months or proves to be a harbinger of bigger and better days ahead for the Pentagon. In the 1972 budget the Pentagon, according to *Business Week* (Jan. 30), "receives favorable treatment . . . Pay increases . . . will reverse the downward drift in military spending . . . More significant for the ailing defense industry, however, is the fact that new obligational authority is programmed to rise by $6 billion, portending a sharp increase in the spending of future years. New authority for research and development contracts is scheduled to jump $900 million. And there is an added $3.3 billion slated for new Navy vessels." Still more has been thrown in for missile modernization, North American Rockwell's B-1 bomber, and Polaris submarine replacement.

Thus, as I said at the outset, at least 60 percent of our real political budget goes to the military. It might be objected that some of these defense-oriented expenditures are as presently uncontrollable as social security trust funds: veterans' benefits and interest on the national debt do have some of the same cumulative and irreversible features. The point, however, is that they scarcely deserve to be associated with "human resources" or with the "nondefense" sector as political choice. If we put together our own estimate of genuine human resource appropriations summing agriculture, natural resources, commerce and transportation, community development and housing, education and manpower, and health, we come up with some $50 billion—roughly 30 to 31 percent of the administrative budget. This is surely generous; the transportation appropriation, for instance, covers $235 million for the SST. This $50 billion would be shaved down drastically if human resource spending were defined in terms of the desperate concerns now at the center of the "priorities" debate—urban redevelopment, housing, public transportation, job training, medical and health care, consumer protection, antipollution measures.

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II

The other principal feature of the fiscal 1972 budget is, of course, "revenue sharing." To begin with, this too, on close inspection, turns out to be another case of false and deceptive advertising. The $5 billion of general revenue sharing proposed by Nixon becomes $3.75 billion in the budget. But the chief effect of revenue sharing in this budget, as I see it, is to reinforce the efforts to downplay the Pentagon's iron grip on our national resources.

Not that this is the sole argument against revenue sharing. Some other strong doubts have been expressed by, among others, Professor Amitai Etzioni in his *New York Times* editorial column of January 30. (He believes rev-

enue sharing would put more funds into the coffers of government units characterized by greater corruption, less operating efficiency and worse bureaucratic snarls.) But no reason is more persuasive than the fact that, given the current political climate in the United States, revenue sharing will serve to *reduce* pressures to cut back on Pentagon spending. It will furnish the illusion of "redirecting priorities" with none of its substance, and it must be assumed that Nixon and his advisers are very well aware of this consequence. Complementing it is the general lack of inclination on the part of the state and local government officials to relate their own current financial crises to the forces making for decay of American society as a whole.

One prime example is New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller, perhaps the most outspoken champion of revenue sharing. On a number of occasions Gov. Rockefeller has declared, accurately, that citizens of his state pay in some $23 to $24 billion in taxes to the federal government and get back less than $3 billion in federal programs. What he has consistently neglected to say is that the bulk of the difference goes to the military. The omission is understandable. Over the past two decades Rockefeller himself has been one of the most ardent advocates of ever higher levels of military spending. He's been one of the oldest hawks in the U.S. cold war aviary. Yet, in the latest strong brief that he made for revenue sharing, before the Joint Economic Committee in Washington on January 29, the Governor again skirted his obvious political contradiction, pleading "insufficient knowledge to discuss military expenditures." It's a performance we can expect to see repeated, maybe even more awkwardly by local officials of areas with large military installations. Midst the upsurge of discussion about revenue sharing in recent months only one governor, to my knowledge, has linked the fiscal woes of his state to the voracious appetite of the Pentagon—Wisconsin's Patrick Lucey. How many others, aside from perhaps Shapp of Pennsylvania and Gilligan of Ohio, who have yet to be heard on this subject, are likely to follow Lucey's example?

The lession, I'm afraid, is too clear. Military spending is so deeply embedded in our political and economic life that even imminent state-government disaster and urban collapse can make but feeble waves against it. In spite of all the criticism leveled at the Pentagon since 1969, despite Vietnam, the F-111, the C5-A and other gigantic cost overruns, despite the Fitzgerald case and the ABM debate, the Pentagon goes rolling on. It has successfully weathered a storm of bad publicity, it has fended off a more hostile press. At present it seems to be invulnerable to attack—which means that, through its interlocks with every sector of American life, it possesses an inner force not shared by other government bureaucracies or programs. Its growth is plainly something other than a series of mistakes or "overreaction to the Soviet threat." Nor can it be explained by absent-minded bureaucratic "disjointed incrementalism," a theory also invoked by some to account for the way we slipped into the Vietnam abomination, "a step at a time." That theory fails to explain how the whole Pentagon juggernaut got started—and it cannot answer why "incremental" increases are so open-ended for the Pentagon and not for urban, health, education, housing, poverty, transport (will it work for "Railpax"?), even the space program.

At this stage of the game it may not be out of line to conclude that the normal political mechanisms of our society are proving to be incapable of bringing about any substantial cuts in the military budget, let alone disarmament.

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POEM

JOHN FANDEL

I dream a poem fluent as the dawn
flows still as water after torrential falls
streams to calms between froth and sea,
a madrigal all melody shall be
in rippled sun when purling trawls
a breath drawn.

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CHEVRON'S POLLUTION SOLUTION

Scott Carpenter and his F310 additive

SUSAN BERMAN

On September 24, 1970, two University of California third-year law students, Alan F. Neckritz and Lawrence Ordower, acting as members of the Boalt Hall Environmental Society, filed a complaint against Chevron's F310 gasoline ads with the Federal Communications Commission. They maintained that the ads were false and misleading and that they should be given time to refute them on television stations which air the advertisements.

The alleged deception of these spot commercials which are shown in California (the nation's biggest gas market) and Hawaii, has already been rapped by two official state agencies, the Sierra Club, the Friends of the Earth, countless individuals and most recently the Federal Trade Commission.

The ad features Scott Carpenter, former astronaut and now aquanaut and President of Sea Sciences, Inc., as narrator. The "before" sequence pictures Carpenter standing next to a large balloon which is attached to the tail pipe of a late model Chevrolet. The balloon is turning black with exhaust in one commercial, the car is engulfed in smoke in another, and in a third the exhaust is lighted with a blow torch indicating unburned gasoline going out the exhaust. In the next sequence Carpenter points to the alleged antipollution miracle and states that the balloon has turned clear after "just six tankfuls of Chevron with Formula F310." The newspaper ads say Carpenter "personally witnessed the dramatic demonstration" and the television spots imply that he attests to the credibility of the claims.

Critics of the ad charge that Chevron has made the car engines deliberately dirty by the use of low-grade gasoline not containing carburetor detergents before fueling with F310 additive (this might lead viewers to believe that using high quality gas with detergent will make their engines that dirty), that they do not state that oxides of nitrogen (together with hydrocarbons, the major photochemical smog producing substance) are not reduced and that just because they claim F310 will "clean dirty engines" does not mean it will reduce pollutants emitted from the exhaust of a clean engine.

The Hawaiian State Senate Consumer Protection Committee recently stated that "The advertisements of Chevron, cleverly designed to capitalize on the current public concern regarding air pollution, do a disservice to the public by making exaggerated and misleading claims as to the effectiveness of F310. While your Committee applauds any step forward in reducing air pollution, it likewise deplores exploitation of the legitimate and appropriate public concern about this problem."

The California Air Resources Board conducted three separate tests and found no significant change in emissions when they fueled their cars with F310. Fluid specialist Dr. Morton Fainman of Los Angeles analyzed Chevron's data to satisfy his own curiosity and says that "F310 is a breakthrough in advertising, not in chemistry." He is now in the midst of examining Chevron's new data and so far finds it "pretty suspect." The Federal Trade Commission in November called the ads "false and misleading" and demanded a voluntary immediate end to them.

All this so far has seemed, if anything, to spur Chevron on. Their F310 gasoline is selling well. They have taken out full-page ads in newspapers like the *Wall Street Journal* to defend their product. On October 15, Standard Oil of California's Public Relations Office released a brochure entitled "F310: A Remarkable and Proven Breakthrough in Gasoline Additives," which they said "details the painstakingly thorough program of research and testing devoted to F310's development." And they further report that "Not since the introduction of lead anti-knock compounds in the early 1920s has a new development in automotive fuel received such wide publicity—or sparked such interest—as the Company's Chevron gasolines with F310 additive."

Board Chairman O. N. Miller had characterized the FTC's findings as "erroneous and unfounded" and said he will continue to market the product as "aggressively as possible."

Chevron has explained a remark made by Eneos D. Kane, President of Chevron Research in Richmond, California, that "we used a very low grade of gasoline to dirty up the engine" by saying this was done to speed up the "cleaning phase."

Scott Carpenter, trading off astronaut fame, did no work on research for the product although he said he analyzed the data after the research was done. His reply to the charges against Chevron is to stand behind the product and characterize its critics as "Two types of

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SUSAN BERMAN's *first book*, The Underground Guide to the College of Your Choice, *is being published this month by New American Library.*

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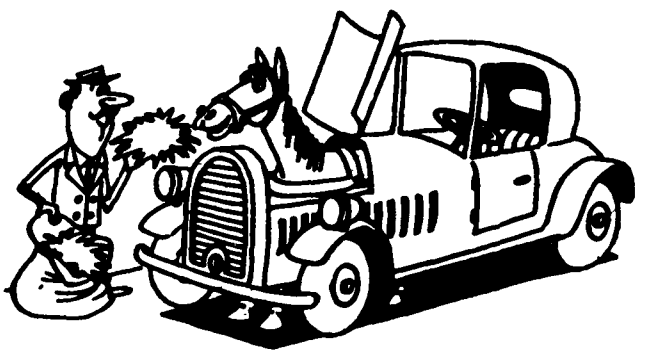
people, one of which is confused, misinformed and well-meaning, the other of which is confused, self-serving and completely dishonest." Carpenter says that he is planning to do additional Chevron F310 commercials in the future.

The controversial nature of the ads is obvious. Their public importance must be viewed in two broad contexts, the narrower of which is that many consumer dollars are being spent on a perhaps useless product in an attempt to halt pollution. But the more important side of the problem is that by ads such as these the very word "ecology" itself is being polluted. Chevron's ads are an attempt to exploit legitimate public interest in a critical social issue. The 1950s brought us Brand X which gave you sex appeal; the '70s bring you Brand Y which solves all serious problems with a twinkling of the video eye.

This exploitation is by the big businesses with pretensions of corporate social responsibility who are, in fact, the usual targets of ecology. Everyone is using social issues to sell his products. Banks have peace symbols and flags on their checks, and Arm and Hammer Baking Soda tells us "At last you can do something about pollution" by using their non-polluting biodegradable product. The red-eyed, smog-filled viewer is told that big companies are more concerned with "saving the environment" than making a fast buck and that he can



help the problem along by succumbing to conspicuous consumption of all salable items that promise to help avert the coming environmental crisis.

There is no salvation for this well-meaning viewer. Advertising executive and ecology enthusiast Jerry Mander estimates that all ecology and conservation groups together spent only about $200,000 last year in advertising compared to millions spewed out by companies like Chevron.

The cooptation of ecology by advertisers is gaining momentum as they begin to actually believe their own claims.

Dan Seymour, president of J. Walter Thompson advertising agency, discussed in a recent speech "the capabilities of the advertising business as the swiftest and most effective means of curing ills through the movement of public opinion." He continued by saying, "when this principle is grasped, all the pollutions and other problems will be well on their way to solution." Say it isn't so and it will disappear. In theory this tack may lend support to the power of words but in fact it doesn't clear up pollution. Now Humble, Murphy and Gulf Oil companies are trying to get in on the "disappearing act" and are coming out with similar claims.

The FCC found cigarette advertisements to fall under regulation by the fairness doctrine but refused to grant the same privilege to automobile and gasoline advertising in the recent Friends of the Earth case. The Commission felt that to ban this advertising would undermine the system of commercial broadcasting. They did, however, state that "a commercial could deal directly with an issue of public importance and if so the fairness doctrine is fully applicable."

In keeping with this ruling, the companies cited by the Friends of the Earth complaint did not appeal to the cause of ecology. Cal-Standard, however did raise the ecology issue itself. When advertisers attempt to cash in on that public concern, they must pay the price of informing the public on all aspects of the issues raised.

The moral indignation generated so far by this controversy is not enough because it has no effective outlet.

Neckritz and Ordower argue in their complaint that not only should they be allowed to rebut Chevron's claims but that ecology groups should be given time to discuss real ways of fighting pollution such as riding a bicycle or walking. The public should not be lulled into a feeling of false security that if they drive a car fueled with F310, even if it does reduce some emissions, they are doing their all against pollution.

The National Commission on Causes and Prevention of Crime stated that ". . . the minimum requirement for nonviolent resolution of social issues is that interested parties be given an opportunity to be heard." And according to FCC Commissioner Nicholas Johnson, "95 per cent of the 60 million households in the United States have their television sets turned on an average of five hours and forty-five minutes a day." There is no better medium for refuting these claims than television.

The complaint charges that licensees have failed to fulfill their public interest obligations because they have not attempted to take a stand on the controversy. All stations and networks have denied the request for reply time.

However, station KPIX (Westinghouse Broadcasting Corporation) replied that they "concluded that the dramatized demonstrations might mislead viewers as to the results achievable by the use of the F310 gasoline under normal conditions." They thus superimposed slides over video portions of the commercials which modified the original commercial messages such as "Very dirty engines purposely used to provide severe test," "Only dirty engines emit black smoke," "Degree of improvement in your car depends on condition of engine."

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Other stations reported that they had given adequate time to environmental issues of all types during regular programming time and cited the Friends of the Earth case. ABC included in their reply a partial list of programs dealing with the environment recently, including "Turtle of the Sulu Sea" and "Project Rhino," part of their Animal World Series, and "The Night of the Squid," from the "Underseas World of Jacques Cousteau" among others. These seem a far cry from the immediate possibility of species annihilation by carbon monoxide poisoning.

But no matter how many environmental programs are aired, they can't compete with Chevron's saturation campaign. In past cases licensees have argued that spots and programs vary in impact. And in a recent case involving Mrs. Bella Abzug, a request was made for an opportunity to reply on spot time to a political opponent's program. The Commission agreed with the licensee's statement that "programs and spots are different in their economic and impact value . . . spots are considerably more valuable" largely due to high audience turnover.

There is nothing to warrant the conclusion that the type of viewer who would be susceptible to Chevron's ads would also be interested in watching hour-long broadcasts on the condition of the environment. In fact, those who believe in F310 ads might truly believe that they are doing their all for ecology by using it and therefore don't have to watch the longer broadcast.

If the record is not set straight with respect to advertising's latest cooptation, the educational efforts of serious ecologists will be hindered. This present theory of relativity will then be extended to the not unbelievable premise that pollution was meant to kill some of the human species and it's better to kill off just a thousand rather than a million.

THE CONFESSION

THE SCREEN

On January, 1951, in Prague, Artur London was arrested by the State Security. The son of a Czech socialist, London had himself been a revolutionary since his early teens. He'd fought with the International Brigades against Fascism in Spain, and with the underground against Nazism in France. He'd even survived the Mauthausen death camp to which the Nazis had transported him once he'd been caught. And after the war he'd been repatriated to Czechoslovakia where he became Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs. But in January, 1951, the past didn't seem to matter. Although his wife Lise tried to obtain his release, London was held incommunicado until November, 1952. Then he reappeared at a public trial where he was one of 14 former government officials accused of espionage, Trotskyism, Titoism, or Zionism. He confessed unequivocally, as did his co-defendants, and was sentenced to life imprisonment. Eleven others were executed.

Costa-Gavras' *The Confession* is based on London's own memoir, which was written after London's "rehabilitation" in 1956. Like the memoir, the film makes what happened to London—the arrest, the interrogations, the torture, humiliation, fatigue and confession—seem entirely credible. We come away from the film feeling that anyone could be made to confess anything under such pressure. And yet London himself had withstood interrogation by the Gestapo, and survived Mauthausen without betraying his comrades. London's own explanation—that the Gestapo's methods were "child's play" by comparison—seems only self-effacing and inadequate. (It took two years for him to recuperate from his treatment at the hands of the Nazis.) Clearly London's capitulation to State Security resulted from something beyond its superior police-state tactics. Unfortunately the film tends to obscure what this something is, although Costa-Gavras is, again, only following London's own narrative in doing so.

It is the very credibility of London's memoir that is misleading here—misleading, I suspect, even for London himself. If we accept too quickly the credibility of London's account, we miss the more essential drama of how incredible the events seemed to him at the time. The memoir's lucid objectivity offsets the sense of irrationality he felt in his arrest and persecution. It all seems so clear now, as he explains it, that we overlook how crazy it seemed then, when it happened. But even as it happened the experience had an inexorable logic to it that London himself figured out.

Through the whole affair London remained the one thing he'd always been above all else: a loyal Party member and a dedicated Marxist. As a Marxist he believed that individual freedom requires consciousness of historical necessity. To recognize the inevitable is to be liberated by it: that's dogma. But such paradoxical Marxism has always run the risk of being practiced as doublethink. What if the dictatorship of the proletariat can only advance through a purge of the Party's Jews? What if historical necessity should require a man to tell self-incriminating lies? Must not the man then achieve freedom by resigning himself to imprisonment?

Having raised these questions in his mind, London's interrogators let his own feelings of guilt and self-doubt about his dedication to the Party do the rest. He worked on himself morally from the inside while they worked on him physically and psychologically from the outside. But the crucial conflict was the interior one. The State could only prey on that conflict and exploit its final resolution. The Party didn't turn on London despite his past loyalty, but *because of* it. His loyalty made him the ideal victim,

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and a more able accomplice to his own ruination than any false witness could have been. By isolating him on the level of consciousness to which history and his own efforts had doomed him, the Party did to him what the Nazis could never do.

Neither the memoir nor the film shrinks from admitting how London's interrogators played on his faith in the Party with insidious arguments. But London can't seem to recognize fully the implications of his own book because he is still a dedicated Communist. He doesn't begin to show righteous indignation in the book until he gets to the trial. And what moves him then isn't the fact that the Party is betraying him and other humane, selfless men: it's the fact that the Party is betraying itself—is making a public mockery of its own highest principles. Even when his wife had returned to France after the trial, London was reluctant to let her publish the truth. He was too pained by thoughts of the self-satisfaction a capitalist nation would feel when it saw the Party indicted this way!

Since London is in the memoir more concerned with the Party's fate than his own, the Party also becomes the subject of Costa-Gavras' film. The Party overshadows London himself as a presence in the film. Yves Montand, who lost 30 pounds in acting the role of London, seldom seems to project any anguish beyond the purely physical. The soul being laid bare here is the Party's, not London's. If the drama that raged in London's own conscience seems less apparent than it might have been in the book, it is almost invisible in the film. The film develops the secondary conflict—the one between the man and the state—and diminishes further the more profound conflict within the man.

Subjective Experience

Of course films have only limited and unsatisfactory ways of exposing subjective experience. It is to Costa-Gavras' credit that he doesn't take the easy way out. He doesn't concoct visual hallucinations in the hopes we'll accept them as substitutes for the real interior drama, although London reports some hallucinations that were lulus and would have appealed to a lesser director. No, what Costa-Gavras does is to go beyond even the memoir in objectifying and neutralizing London's experience. This is really the only intelligent course open to the film, especially since London's book doesn't invite a self-interpretive rendering in the first place.

Nevertheless, the film, like the memoir, exceeds its own purpose. Costa-Gavras has said he hopes the film will be received as a document that's anti-Stalinist rather than anti-Communist. But it really goes far beyond both possibilities. It makes us aware that the mills of *any* party will always grind exceedingly fine. In a scene that doesn't occur in the memoir, Costa-Gavras throws the rehabilitated London into a chance meeting with his chief interrogator, Kohoutek, who'd originally interrogated Communists for the Nazis. As Kohoutek has now suffered purgation and imprisonment himself, he assumes London will show no rancor toward him. He greets London with a sympathetic camaraderie that London accepts. What a superb irony this is! All men are trapped by the necessity of history after all, no matter how wisely or warily they try to move with the times. If London and Kohoutek can end as brother victims of the Party, anyone can end that way. If the Party can be corrupted by historical necessity, all institutions will be.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

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ROBERT PAWLOWSKI

OEDIPUS AT THULE

Here the moments hang weather
In cascade; and the sky, black
And pitted from release, holds
The stiff lines of convention
Between color and issue.
Ceaselessly this is Thule
Where I have come for thunder—

Where at last a season stopped
What I saw and, unchanging,
I have since rehearsed the brute
Necessity of raw sight,
Its custom of recalling
Certain tongues from sound alone,
Whosesoever the first was,
That by promise must gather
Again to the sun's darkening
And move and speak this weather
In the flashings that keep light
And dark apart, the naked
Relief my gods have designed
To ease the knowing of kings.

Here no more roads follow me
And I move to Thule's time,
Walking into open ground
And hissing like snakes leaving
Air, as my eyes, hollowed for
Advance, for innovation,
Measure the remaining world.

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BOOKS

Confession was within the logic of Stalinism

The Confession

ARTUR LONDON

William Morrow and Company, $7.95.

The Battle Stalin Lost

VLADIMIR DEDIJER

Viking, $8.50

DICK HOWARD

Why whip a dead horse? Haven't we had enough discussions of Stalinism, enough criticism, enough memoirs? Is there really a need to replay the same theme in the infinity of its variations?

Stalinism is not dead. It has not been —nor should it be—explained away. Within the "socialist" bloc, the invasion of Czechoslovakia and its results are only the most blatant sign of its durability. (As I was writing this, I received word from friends about the situation of Czech radicals unable to find even the most menial of jobs. In the *New York Times* one readable headline: "Official Czech book charges 'Zionists' with Fomenting Liberalizations of '68," preparing, as the *Times* notes, "repressive action against the fewer than 20,000 Jews still in the country." *Le Monde*, on January 1, headlines that "according to a Russian diplomat" in Prague, "the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR could annul the condemnation of Stalinism.")

Here at home, the cop-out of SDS in June, 1969 with its mindless acceptance of old-left rhetoric is another sign that the mentality which creates this deformation is still alive.

Neither Artur London nor Vladimir Dedijer sets out to analyze Stalinism; yet their personal experience with it provides elements for reflection on its roots. Dedijer's memoirs, begun during "Prague Spring" and concluded after the invasion of Czechoslovakia, situate the Czech events in relation to the Yugoslav experience of 1948-53 in which, for the first time, socialism and its Russian variant were sharply distinguished. London intended his participant victim's account of Stalinist methods at their worst for his compatriots—but it was never published in Czech: London and his manuscript arrived in Prague on August 21, 1968 . . . along with the troops of the Warsaw Pact.

"Socialism" was brought to Eastern Europe at the end of the war with the agreement of Churchill and Roosevelt and, for the most part, on the bayonets of the Red Army. The exception was Yugoslavia, where Tito's peasant and worker Partisan Army had defeated the occupying Germans. Next to Yugoslavia, the Czechs had the largest and most respected indigenous Communist Party; and they were the most highly industrialized of the new "socialist" countries which, at the outset, were militarily, economically and politically subordinated to Moscow and its model of "socialism."

In 1948, a fissure which was to become an abyss appeared in the bloc: Yugoslavia refused to kneel at the altar, and was excommunicated. For five long years, until the death of Stalin, the Yugoslavs were subjected to physical (military and economic) and verbal attacks by the world Communist movement. Left to their own resources, the Yugoslavs were forced to create their own socialism.

In their struggle against Stalinism, the most difficult barrier was, paradoxically, their own Stalinism. Men and women who had devoted their lives to the struggle for socialism—which had been incarnated in Russia and its leader—could not lose their faith overnight. Dedijer recounts how deeply troubled he and Tito were by the memories of their Partisan struggle in which comrades had gone bravely to their deaths with the name of Stalin on their lips. The first reaction after 1948 was thus to try to prove that they were better socialists (read: Stalinists) than those who condemned them: they blindly followed the Russian model of economic development, forcing the peasants into collectives, strengthening the bureaucracy and the Party. But these methods failed, and it became clear that *the economic base of socialism can be none other than the people.* This lesson was at the origin of the Yugoslav development of *workers' control.*

Stalin had to reassert his control over the International. He resorted to purges, which had served him so well during the 1930's. Beginning with the arrest of Gomulka in Poland, there followed the show trials of Rajk in Hungary and Kostov in Bulgaria. Czechoslovakia was next.

Artur London had all the "qualifications" to play the leading role in Stalin's next production. An old Communist who had fought in Spain, married a French Communist and taken an active role in the French Resistance until captured and sent to Mauthausen, London was, morevoer, a Jew and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. *The Confession* is London's biography, at the same time that it examines, in painful detail, the mechanism by which loyal Communists were led to confess to "crimes" they never committed.

Why did London and his 13 co-defendants confess? Physical and psychological pressures of all kinds (endless interrogations, threats to one's family, the destruction of one's self by incredibly cruel psychological means); the twisted logic of guilt by association "'In Spain you knew X, now a high Yugoslav official; thus you were a Titoist . . ."); facts taken out of context ("You, a Jew, lived through Mauthausen; therefore the Gestapo trained

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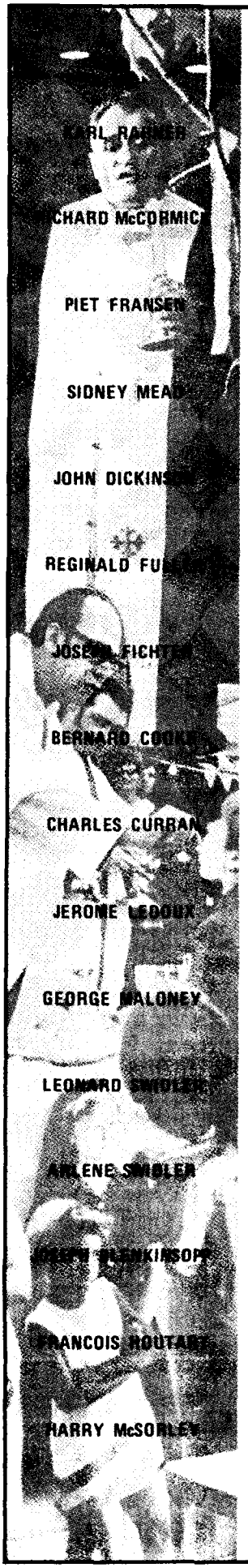

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you as an agent to be used later by the American imperialists . . ."); lies by the interrogators ("Your friend Y has confessed that you . . ."); etc. Even the possibility of suicide was ruled out, for that would imply to the world that one was a traitor who feared the consequences of his actions. Most important, however, was the individual's own identification with the aggressor against himself.

As an old Communist, London identified the Party with the Truth. Against the Party, the individual subjectivity could only be wrong. All his life, London had shied away from no risk which the Party and the Struggle demanded; in the jails of the enemy, facing death, it was easy to retain his faith, for he knew that even if he died it would be in the name of Truth and a better tomorrow. Now, suddenly, he found himself accused by this very Party. "The Party needs a trial," his interrogators told him.

This faith in the Party is the most poignant aspect of London's story. "The years of struggle and discipline," he writes, "all our past education, had taught us that the Party was never wrong, that the USSR was always right." His wife, who had given birth to their child in a jail during the Resistance, showed the same attitude. "I don't mistrust you," she wrote him, "but I also have faith in the Party, and if the Party has authorized such measures I know there must be some justification."

Why did the Party need "such measures"? To put the blame on Stalin is not sufficient. The Party, as Georg Lukács observed, was a pyramid; under Stalin there were many, many more little Stalins. The Party had identified itself with the System, and the System had to maintain itself at the same time that it put itself at the service of an abstract economic schema of "socialist accumulation." The confessions would show the people that it was not "socialism" and the Party which were wrong, but that "sabotage" by Trotskyites, Titoists and Capitalists was to blame. The logic of the System could not permit subjective errors; objective, Historical causes had to be given; as London notes, "No one remained without a label."

In Antonin Leihm's *The Politics of Culture*, an important book consisting of interviews with 15 leading Czech intellectuals and artists during the spring of 1968, Jean-Paul Sartre's Preface, "The Socialism That Came in from the Cold," (published in *Evergreen Review*, No. 84), provides a brilliant analysis of the philosophical foundations of the Stalinist deformation. Sartre argues that "confession was within the logic of the system." What system? Precisely in any system which takes itself as an end, and subordinates the individual to its inhuman mechanism. Ironically, this *reversal of subject and object* was first demystified by Karl Marx in his 1843 critique of Hegel's theory of the state. That his own so-called followers now fell victim to that very mystification is significant.

The Leninist tradition has shown a tragic ignorance of the dialectical foundations of Marxism. Unable to understand the role of the individual in history, this tradition has deified the Party as the Historical Agent operating within a History which is understood in terms of States, Economic Accumulation and The Correct Line. This deification commits the same error for which Marx criticized Hegel. As Dedijer notes, the problem is that socialism is confined "to industrialization, thus neglecting human values and the still-unresolved interrelationship between the individual and society . . . and disregarding the individual for the sake of an imaginary social good."

Socialism is not a System. It is a way of life, based on individual men and women. Socialism is not an Economic System doing the *same things* better than capitalism. It inverts the capitalist priorities, putting men and women above the machine. Prague Spring began as a bureaucratic change within the system; but the masses entered into action, and it was they and not the Party who were in the vanguard of the creation of a "socialism with a human visage." The point is not to "serve the people"—a slogan which in

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fact harks back to the Christian mission, or the White Man's burden. The point is to create the conditions in which the people can serve themselves.

A Theology of the Holy Spirit

FREDERICK DALE BRUNER

Eerdmans, $8.95

J. RODMAN WILLIAMS

This book, subtitled "The Pentecostal Experience and the New Testament Witness," is an important study for the contemporary church. F. D. Bruner, presently professor of systematic theology at Union Theological Seminary in the Philippines, has sought to combine description of the way in which the Holy Spirit is experienced and understood in Pentecostalism with examination of New Testament evidence. The basic question throughout: Is the Pentecostal teaching on the experience of the Spirit in conformity with the New Testament?

Bruner's treatise, accordingly, is divided into two major parts, the first entitled "The Holy Spirit in Pentecostal Experience," and the second, "The Holy Spirit in New Testament Witness." In Part One, after two preliminary chapters describing the extraordinary growth of Pentecostalism in the twentieth century (including the recent wave of "Neo-Pentecostalism" in traditional Protestant and Roman Catholic churches), Bruner proceeds to elaborate the most important area in Pentecostal thought and practice, namely the "baptism in the Holy Spirit" (Chapter III). Pentecostalism, says Bruner, finds its theological center in the *tremendum* of the Holy Spirit's coming (as described in Acts 2:1-4) not merely as a past fact but as a present reality. "Baptism in the Holy Spirit," according to Pentecostalism, may occur at the time of conversion or subsequent thereto; in neither case is the experience to be identified with conversion. When this Spirit baptism occurs, the inward reality, the Pentecostal claims, is that of the permanent, personal, and full indwelling of the Holy Spirit, the believer (or believing community) being thereby empowered for witness to the Gospel; the outward and initial evidence is that of speaking in tongues. How does such a "baptism in the Holy Spirit" come about? Bruner describes various Pentecostal "conditions" for this baptism, among them being, in addition to conversion, obedience, prayer, expectancy, and faith. To believers who walk the way of obedience, persist in prayer, and are open to God's visitation the Holy Spirit may be given. Part One closes with a chapter on "The Gifts of the Holy Spirit in the Pentecostal Movement." Here Bruner discusses particularly the gifts, or *charismata*, of I Corinthians 12-14, such as prophecy, healing, and miracles, which in Pentecostalism are claimed to be again fully manifest and operative.

In Part Two Bruner subjects Pentecostal thought and experience to New Testament scrutiny. In a critically important chapter, "The Baptism of the Holy Spirit in the Acts of the Apostles," Bruner contends that Pentecostalism seriously errs in attributing the "baptism of the Holy Spirit" to a post-conversion, or later, experience in the believer's life. Acts 2:1-4, says Bruner, was the event of union with Jesus Christ, whereby the disciples became converted, truly turned, to Christ: it was not a post-conversion spiritual experience. Hence "to be baptized in the Spirit is to become Christ's. . . . The baptism of the Holy Spirit joins men to Christ in such a way that the recipients become *his*, i.e. Christians" (page 160).

Further on in Acts it is clear, Bruner affirms, that baptism with water is designated as the outward channel of Spirit baptism: ". . . baptism becomes the locus of the Spirit's reception. . . . Henceforth, baptism is Pentecost" (page 168). One therefore should not look beyond such an event for a subsequent baptism or reception of the Spirit. Bruner admits that there is an exception to this in the account of the Samaritans in Acts 8:4-24 (where, some time after their belief and baptism, the Samaritans receive the Holy Spirit),

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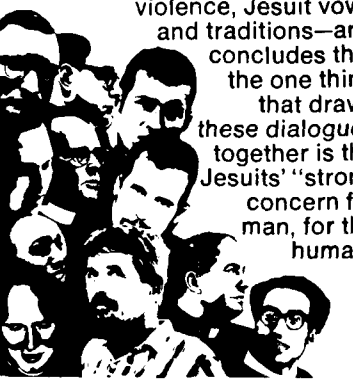

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but this occurred only once and ought not to be used as justification for the Pentecostal position. Incidentally, it may be of interest to the Catholic reader that Bruner is not only opposed here to Pentecostalism's separation between conversion and baptism of the Spirit but also to Catholicism's similar differentiation between regeneration in baptism and the gift of the Spirit in confirmation (see pages 187-188).

In regard to the matter of speaking in tongues as initial evidence of receiving "baptism in the Holy Spirit," Bruner holds that such a viewpoint is based on too few instances in Acts to claim adequate biblical support. In this same chapter Bruner also urges that the whole of Pentecostalism's emphasis on "conditions"—such as prayer and obedience—for the reception of the Holy Spirit collapses under the simple realization that the Spirit is a gift and therefore cannot be achieved through the best of human works.

The final chapters of Part Two contain a survey of the operation of the Holy Spirit in other areas of the New Testament witness—which areas, says Bruner, make even clearer that the Holy Spirit comes alone by simple faith in Jesus. Accordingly, in regard to the matter of tongues, "when Pentecostalism comes requiring tongues of believers in order for them to have the fulness of the Holy Spirit . . . anathema must be announced and the warning to avoid the false teaching urged with all possible seriousness" (page 282).

This reviewer would say first a word of sincere appreciation for Bruner's book. For one thing, there is the large amount of information Bruner has collected on Pentecostalism, all the way from the excellent opening chapters on the history and significance of the Pentecostal movement, through many case studies of representative experiences of Pentecostal "baptism in the Spirit," to a final Part III containing background documents for modern Pentecostalism, an extended bibliography from Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal sources, and indices of subjects, persons, authors, and New Testament references. Also Bruner demonstrates throughout that his study has been done not only by making use of a wide range of materials but also through first-hand contact with the Pentecostal movement. Indeed, Bruner confesses that a persistent question had much to do with the writing of his book, namely, "Should I have the Pentecostal experience?" (page 8). Thus what is found in this volume contains careful study combined with existential concern.

But having spoken thus approvingly, I confess myself to be unconvinced by Bruner's elaboration and critique at several points. It seems to me that Pentecostalism is *essentially* correct in seeing in Acts reference to a possible post-conversion reception of the Holy Spirit. It is surely straining hard for Bruner to claim that the disciples before Pentecost were unconverted, therefore not yet Christ's, men. Moreover, there is no basis in Acts for saying that after Acts 2:1-4 "baptism is Pentecost," since the Spirit is described variously as coming before baptism (Acts 10:44-48), following baptism (Acts 19:5-6), and several hours, perhaps days, after (Acts 8:12-17). Bruner's attempt to wave aside the Acts 8 passage, calling it an exception, fairly demonstrates the faultiness of his handling the record in Acts. Pentecostalism, as I read it, properly recognizes (with Catholicism) that *we may not simply identify baptism with Pentecost.*

Again, I think Bruner over-reaches himself in equating Pentecostal "conditions" for "baptism in the Holy Spirit" with human works. I would agree that some of the Pentecostal literature and cases cited put such stress on obedience, heart-searching, prayer, and the like, as to leave this impression; however, the prevailing witness among Pentecostals is not that such activity can in any way bring about, or earn, the Holy Spirit: He still comes as a gift in God's sovereign time and freedom. Bruner unfortunately fails to take seriously the strong biblical witness to the importance of searching after God, of yielding to Him for His blessing, of realizing that the Holy Spirit is given to those who are willing to ask, seek, and knock (see Luke 11:9-13).

Once again, Bruner grievously errs, I believe, in speaking of Pentecostalism's "requiring tongues" to receive the "baptism in the Holy Spirit." The Pentecostal thesis of tongues as "initial evidence" of something *already* re-

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ceived is far different from viewing it as a requirement for the event to occur. Bruner's anathema is ill-declared and (like anathemas generally?) rises, I suspect, out of a condition of inner discomfort!

I do not see that Bruner ever really comes to terms with the basic question Pentecostalism raises, namely, is there an important witness here to a much needed experience of the Holy Spirit today? Early in his book Bruner mentions that the significance of Pentecostalism "may be that it incarnates a neglected reality of the New Testament church: the Holy Spirit in the experience of believers" (page 33). Furthermore, as we have noted, Bruner offers many case studies and illustrations of people, often long-time believers, who claim to have had such an experience. Also, here and there, Bruner speaks affirmatively of the joy, vitality, and dedication that generally characterize their lives. The question that remains is unmistakable: Are the Pentecostals attesting to something that many in the church of our day would confess to be sadly lacking? Finally, if we decide to say "no" to the Pentecostal experience (as Bruner evidently has done), could it be that the real problem is not the lack of adequate biblical evidence but our unwillingness to be open to the wind of God's Spirit?

IN BRIEF

Sacramentum Verbi: An Encyclopedia of Biblical Theology. Herder and Herder. 3 vols. $49.50.

Those who are fortunate enough and affluent enough to possess *Sacramentum Mundi* will also wish to acquire *Sacramentum Verbi*. This companion piece limits itself to biblical theology. One hesitates to say that anything priced at $49.50 is an indispensable tool, but one does not hesitate to say that it is a highly useful tool. It is translated from the third edition (1967) of the German original, and it appears from spot checks to be up to date. The work is done by the most representative biblical scholars of the German-speaking countries, and their reputation assures their competence. The third volume contains indices and a bibliographical supplement. The value of the supplement is not only that it picks up the literature since 1967, but also that it, unlike the articles, mentions books and articles in some other language than German. JOHN L. MCKENZIE

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 539*)

Many lay people are no longer clinging to that "straw."

(MRS.) L. M. FLANDERS

Correction

Montreal, Canada

To the Editors: I should like to correct three misprints in my article "Küng on Infallibility" [Feb. 5]. Towards the end of the first page "inherent propositions" should read "inerrant propositions" and in the footnote the subtitle of Küng's book should read "Eine Anfrage." The third mistake is a puzzling substitution and will strengthen a misunderstanding I have tried to remove. The reference to my book *A Question of Conscience* speaks of "the major matter of papal honesty over the birth-control issue." My typescript reads "the minor issue."

CHARLES DAVIS

Ed. Note: We regret these printer's errors and extend our apologies to Charles Davis and our readers.

REVIEWERS

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J. RODMAN WILLIAMS, professor of Systematic Theology and Philosophy of Religion at Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Texas, is the author of *Contemporary Existentialism and Christian Faith* and *The Era of the Spirit.*

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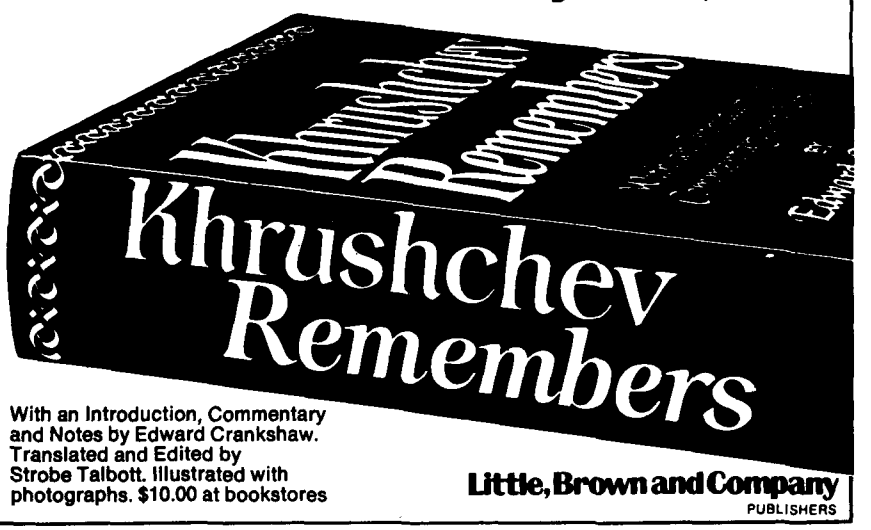

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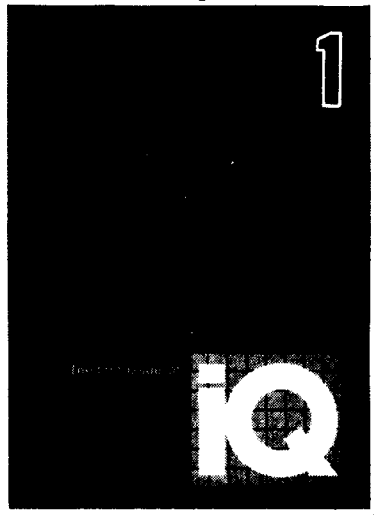

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